

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

----- 076270

O P 181500Z APR 75

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2565

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 0160

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF APRIL 18, 1975

(SALT TWO -619)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON
AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF APRIL 18, 1975.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON

APRIL 18, 1975

I

MR. MINISTER,

ON MARCH 12 I ADDRESSED ARTICLE V OF THE US DRAFT WHICH
CARRIES FORWARD RELEVANT LIMITATIONS OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT
AND CONTAINS CERTAIN OTHER RELATED PROVISIONS. ON APRIL 15 I
SET FORTH IN GREATER DETAIL THE CONSIDERATIONS IN SUPPORT OF ONE
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OF THE PARAGRAPHS OF THIS ARTICLE, PARAGRAPH 4, WHICH PLACES A

CEILING ON THE VOLUME AND THROW-WEIGHT OF HEAVY ICBMS. TODAY I WILL ELABORATE ON THE PROVISIONS OF PARAGRAPHS 5 AND 6 OF ARTICLE V OF THE US DRAFT.

II

MR. MINISTER, THROUGHOUT MY EXPOSITION OF THE US DRAFT, I HAVE STRESSED OUR VIEW THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT MUST PROVIDE FOR A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING BY BOTH SIDES OF THE OBLIGATIONS BEING ASSUMED. WE BOTH RECOGNIZE THAT THE COMPOSITION OF THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE FORCES OF EACH SIDE WILL CHANGE OVER THE NEXT TEN YEARS AS A RESULT OF THE NORMAL PROCESSES OF MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT.

PARAGRAPH 5 OF ARTICLE V PROVIDES THAT NEITHER SIDE WILL HAVE UNDER CONSTRUCTION AT ANY TIME SLBM, MOBILE ICBM, OR ASBM LAUNCHERS OR HEAVY BOMBERS IN EXCESS OF A NUMBER CONSISTENT WITH A NORMAL CONSTRUCTION OR MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT SCHEDULE. AS I NOTED ON MARCH 12, THE PROBLEM OF PREVENTING EXCESSIVE BUILDUP OF STOCKS OF SYSTEMS UNDER CONSTRUCTION IS OF EQUAL IMPORTANCE AND SIMILAR TO THE ONE WHICH WAS RECOGNIZED BY OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS WITH RESPECT TO BALLISTIC MISSILE SUBMARINES. THIS PROBLEM WAS RESOLVED FOR BALLISTIC MISSILE SUBMARINES BY THE SCC PROCEDURES SIGNED IN MOSCOW ON JULY 3, 1974. THE PROVISION PROPOSED IN THE US DRAFT WOULD APPLY THIS SAME PRINCIPLE TO ALL OF THE SYSTEMS INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE LIMITATIONS OF THE AGREEMENT.

WITH SUCH A PROVISION, THE SIDES WOULD BE BOUND TO OBSERVE A NORMAL CONSTRUCTION SCHEDULE FOR ALL SYSTEMS TO BE LIMITED BY THE NEW AGREEMENT. SUCH A NORMAL CONSTRUCTION SCHEDULE IS UNDERSTOOD TO BE ONE CONSISTENT WITH THE PAST OR PRESENT CONSTRUCTION PRACTICES OF EACH PARTY. WITHOUT SUCH A PROVISION ONE SIDE COULD UNDERTAKE CONSTRUCTION AT AN EXCESSIVE RATE, IN WHICH CASE, THE OTHER SIDE COULD FEEL COMPELLED TO REACT. THIS ACTION-REACTION CYCLE WOULD BE CONTRARY TO OUR MUTUAL EFFORTS TO ENHANCE STABILITY BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND TO CURB COMPETITION IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

III

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PARAGRAPH 6 OF ARTICLE V ESTABLISHES APPROPRIATE LIMITS ON EXTRA MISSILES AND RELOAD CAPABILITIES FOR ICBM LAUNCHERS. SUPPLYING ICBM DEPLOYMENT FIELDS WITH MORE THAN ONE MISSILE FOR EACH LAUNCHER (IN ADDITION TO A NUMBER OF MISSILES CONSISTENT WITH NORMAL MAINTENANCE, TRAINING AND REPLACEMENT REQUIREMENTS); STORING ADDITIONAL MISSILES AT ICBM LAUNCH SITES; OR DEVELOPING ICBM LAUNCHERS WITH RAPID RELOAD CAPABILITY WOULD

HAVE THE EFFECT OF CIRCUMVENTING THE INTENT OF THE AGGREGATE LIMITATIONS. A PROVISION PROHIBITING SUCH CIRCUMVENTION WOULD SERVE TO ENHANCE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE LIMITATIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

THE NEED TO PREVENT SUCH A SITUATION WAS RECOGNIZED IN NEGOTIATING THE ABM TREATY. IN THAT TREATY THE PARTIES AGREED UPON A PROVISION LIMITING EACH PARTY TO NO MORE THAN 100 ABM LAUNCHERS AND NO MORE THAN 100 ABM INTERCEPTOR MISSILES AT LAUNCH SITES. THIS, IN EFFECT, IMPOSED A LIMIT OF ONE MISSILE FOR EACH LAUNCHER. FURTHER, IN THE ABM TREATY, THE PARTIES UNDERTOOK NOT TO DEVELOP, TEST OR DEPLOY SYSTEMS FOR RAPID RELOAD OF ABM LAUNCHERS.

IV

THUS, MR. MINISTER, THE PROVISIONS I HAVE DESCRIBED HAVE GOOD PRECEDENT. THEY WERE FORMULATED IN FULL RECOGNITION OF THE FACTORS THAT LED OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS TO REACH AGREEMENT CONCERNING COMPARABLE PROBLEMS IN CONNECTION WITH THE INTERIM AGREEMENT AND THE ABM TREATY. THE US SIDE BELIEVES THAT ADOPTING THE PROVISIONS IN PARAGRAPHS 5 AND 6 OF ARTICLE V OF THE US DRAFT WOULD PROMOTE THE VIABILITY AND ENHANCE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.
UNQUOTEJOHNSON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENT DRAFT, TEXT, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), ARMS CONTROL MEETINGS, SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 APR 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GarlanWA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975SALTT00160
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750136-0906
From: SALT TALKS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750437/aaaabitd.tel
Line Count: 140
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GarlanWA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <13 JUN 2003 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <18 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF APRIL 18, 1975 (SALT TWO -619)
TAGS: PARM
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006